

Turkish Atrocities in Asia Minor

SPEECH

OF

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OF UTAH

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Mr. KING. Mr. President, I ask the attention of the Senate while I direct their thoughts to a subject which should excite the interest of all Christian peoples. For years the world has been appalled at the authenticated reports of Turkish atrocities in Armenia and in various parts of the Turkish Empire. The barbarous treatment of the Christian peoples of the Balkan States provoked wars and finally led to the emancipation of those States from Ottoman oppression. The reports of the barbarous treatment inflicted by the Turkish authorities upon Christian peoples living under the Turkish Government were not exaggerated. Indeed, perhaps history will never know all the bloody and savage deeds that were perpetrated by the Turks upon the helpless minorities who were under Turkish rule. The record of the persecution of the Armenians has been verified so often that no one attempts to controvert the hideous facts which have been published to the world.

Prior to the accession to power of what is called the Young Turks' régime, organized expeditions were set on foot for the massacre of the Armenian people. Those familiar with the history of the Armenian race are filled with admiration because of their heroism and sublime courage and devotion to religious ideals. At the same time sorrow and indignation are experienced at the sad fate which has overtaken that unhappy people. Under the administration of the Turkish Government, after it had passed into the control of the Young Turks, the persecution of the Armenians was renewed and hundreds of thousands were massacred and the most barbarous treatment accorded to those who survived. The remonstrances of the Christian nations availed but little, and it became evident that it was the design of the Turkish Government to exterminate the Armenian race.

At the outbreak of the World War the remnants of the Armenian race within the limits of the Turkish territory were widely scattered throughout Asia Minor. During the war they were placed in a most precarious situation. The Turkish nation gave support to the Central Empires and waged fierce and relentless war against the Allies. A portion of the territory occupied by the Armenians was the theater of conflicts between the Russian troops and Turkish forces.

Many were drafted into the Turkish Army and gave their lives upon battle fields and in the deserts and plains of Anatolia. And when the war was in progress the most merciless warfare was waged against them. German military au-

thorities not only connived at but encouraged the ruthless persecution of all Armenian people in Asiatic Turkey. Perhaps it will never be known how many were butchered by the Turks and by the roving bands of Kurds who invaded Turkish territory occupied by the Armenians. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were driven from their homes into the deserts, where they were subjected to the most brutal treatment, and where they miserably perished at the hands of cruel guards and fanatical Turks and roving bands of Kurds, and as a result of the privations to which they were subjected. No more tragic page can be found in history than that which records the cruel and inhuman persecution of the Armenians during the period of the World War.

Following the war the survivors of this unhappy race who were still in Asia Minor attempted to bring together the scattered remnants and organize a government. The work which they performed was magnificent, and if they had been accorded proper support from this and other nations their government would have survived. It is the earnest prayer of all who love liberty and religious freedom that there may yet appear a vigorous and enduring Armenian State. Notwithstanding that recognition was accorded the Republic which the Armenians established following the war, but little support was given to it, and the bolsheviks upon the north and the barbarous Turks in Asia Minor have crushed, if not destroyed, it. Moreover, the remnants of this unhappy race have further been persecuted and their numbers by cruel massacres still further reduced.

We often speak of war being justified in the interest of humanity. The United States, it is alleged by many, declared war against Spain because of the brutal and inhuman treatment accorded the people of Cuba, and so waged war in the interest of humanity. There are causes which justify war. I respectfully submit that the Christian peoples of the world ought to have interposed to prevent the recurring massacres of the Armenian people and the execution of the diabolical purpose of the Ottoman Turks to exterminate the Armenian race. When the new Armenian Republic was established, and when it was accorded recognition by this and other nations of the earth, they should have, in the interest of humanity, exerted their powerful influence to prevent the Turks from continuing their merciless war of extermination, which even to the present moment continues.

Armenia was the outpost of Christianity for centuries. The invading Mongolians and other Asiatic tribes that inundated Europe were stoutly and stubbornly resisted for centuries by the brave and heroic Armenians. Though repeated tides of barbarous orientals overwhelmed them, their resiliency, their courage, and their faith enabled them to survive, though their numbers were constantly reduced. They did not forsake their religious faith or their ideals, but constantly held aloft the banner of Christianity, and sought to maintain the culture, the traditions, and the civilization of which they were such glorious exponents.

The world seems to have become so indurated by cruelty and bloodshed and oppression that a recital of the barbarities now being committed by the Turks arouse but slight interest. If

resentment is awakened it seems to be only for the moment, and we lapse into a condition of apathy and regard with but transient interest conditions which, though tragic and awful, we affect to believe are inevitable.

With these monstrous crimes against humanity and civilization, it were time that the nations of the world should unite in some bond of union against the barbarities and horrors which have destroyed peoples and drenched the earth with blood and tears, and formulate international laws and regulations under which peace and justice shall be the inheritance of all.

But the Turks have not confined their persecutions in Asia Minor to the Armenians. They have inflicted the greatest cruelties upon the Greeks who reside within Turkish territory. The persecutions of the Pontian Greeks have been indescribably barbarous and deadly. Hundreds of thousands of the Greeks of Pontus have been compelled to flee to Russia and hundreds of thousands had been massacred or driven from their homes into the deserts and waste places where death was to them a release from the horrors and tortures to which they had been subjected. Even now the persecutions continue, and the Kemalist government in Anatolia is carrying on in a most bloodthirsty manner a policy which if unrestrained will culminate in the extermination of the hundreds of thousands of Greeks who have built hundreds of cities and towns and villages along the littoral of the Black Sea and who have added to the wealth and the prosperity of the Turkish Empire.

Most of the American people are unaware of the extent of this exterminating crusade which has been waged and is now being waged against the Greeks of Pontus. At a mass meeting of American citizens of Greek descent, recently held in New York City, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas positive information from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and various prominent societies of Pontus Greeks in Constantinople and elsewhere, including eyewitnesses, proves definitely that the Nationalist Turks, under Mustapha Kemal Pasha, are carrying out a systematic extermination, coolly planned years ago, against the unarmed and loyal civil Greek population of the entire territory within their control, particularly in the Black Sea littoral;

Whereas the Nationalists, in carrying out their persecution and extermination, have been arresting for months thousands of innocent, leading Greeks under various false accusations, and have thrown them into unhygienic jails, subjecting them to indescribable horrors of torture and torment, as a result of which many have died, then bringing the survivors to mock trial before the so-called "courts of independence," condemned to death 168 Greeks in Amasia early in September, and have actually hanged 151 of them; similarly 190 others were hanged in Ordou and others elsewhere;

Whereas the Nationalists have already deported all the male Greeks from their homes, killing most of them on the way and forcing the survivors into inhospitable regions in the interior, such as Harput and Malatia and Erzerum, thus condemning them to die of starvation, exposure, and disease;

Whereas after the deportation of men the Turks, under the protection of the law, have looted the Greek stores and houses, thus depriving the women and children of all means of livelihood and protection, and thereafter have doomed those women and children to destruction, sending them into the interior in the company of ferocious Turkish guards, who had absolute control and authority over them, thus subjecting them to every form of cruelty;

Whereas millions of Americans, including many thousands of Greek descent from the territories under the Kemalist terror, fought in the Great War, many making the last sacrifice for the ends our Government had in view, one of which was to secure protection, peace, and liberty for the Christians and other oppressed races in the Near East;

Whereas the Kemalists are at present carrying on a wild propaganda alleging that all these reports of atrocities, massacres, and deportations are fabrications or exaggerations:

Whereas the ruling Turk, by his continuous misrule, has forfeited, in the eyes of the civilized world, all right to self-government, and much less can he be trusted any more with the keeping and protection of other races: Therefore be it

Resolved, That in the name of common humanity and Christian compassion we earnestly and urgently request our Government in Washington to use its great influence and power that steps may be taken by the representatives of the great powers—

First. For the immediate cessation of all persecution and deportation of Greeks, Armenians, and other oppressed races by the Nationalist Turks.

Second. For the immediate return of the surviving deportees to their homes before the winter sets in and for the restoration of their means of livelihood.

Third. For the restriction and control by the forces of civilization of the political power of the Turk, so that permanent protection and rights of life, honor, and property be secured to the oppressed Greeks, Armenians, and other non-Turkish races, yea, even to the Turkish people themselves.

Fourth. For the appointment of an international committee to visit the afflicted regions and investigate the truth of our complaint and statement of facts, which are but a fraction of the horrible truth that such investigation will bring to light; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the representatives of the powers assembled at the Disarmament Conference in Washington.

Prior to the adoption of these resolutions I had received authentic information concerning the persecutions to which the Pontian Greeks had been subjected, particularly during and since the World War, and also the ruthless exterminating policy which had been inaugurated and was being carried into execution by the Kemalist régime of Anatolia.

Mr. President, the evidence is overwhelming, and to my mind conclusive, that the statements contained in the resolutions do not overdraw the picture. Indeed, the situation is far more tragic than that depicted in the resolutions. Unless some steps shall be taken by forces outside of Turkey to restrain the bloody hands of Mustapha Kemal, there would seem to be no hope of salvation for these unfortunate people, whose only offense is that they are Christians and have sought to give to Turkey a civilization and a culture that would lift the Ottoman Turks to a higher plane, where they might be fit to associate with the civilized and progressive nations of the world.

On the 14th of December I presented to the Senate the following resolution:

Whereas the treaty between Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan on the one part and Turkey on the other part, signed at Sevres on the 10th day of August, 1920, makes complete and particular provision for the protection of racial and religious minorities within the territory committed to the sovereignty of Turkey, including Pontus on the southern littoral of the Black Sea; and

Whereas by article 141 of said treaty Turkey undertook specifically to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion, and in article 144 further undertook to facilitate the return to their homes and the restoration to their properties and business of all persons who had become exiles by reason of the terrorist régime in Turkey during the late war; and

Whereas, in violation of the stipulation of said treaty and in violation of the laws and customs of nations and of the principles of national morality and of justice recognized by all civilized States, the so-called Kemalist régime in Anatolia has continued the massacre of the Christian population of Anatolia, and particularly of the inhabitants of Pontus, who are of the Greek race and religion, by which such inhabitants have been deprived not only of their properties and business but have been subjected to a system of ruthless declamation and extermination; and

Whereas the Government of France has recognized the Kemalist régime as the de facto and as the lawful Government of Turkey; and
 Whereas the inhabitants of Pontus have no redress or recourse for protection and vindication except by appeal to the powers which are parties to the treaty of Sevres; and
 Whereas by article 151 of said treaty said powers agreed to consult with the council of the League of Nations upon measures necessary to guarantee the execution of part 4 of said treaty, including the articles aforesaid, and the Turkish Government agreed to accept all decisions taken in that behalf: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States expresses abhorrence and condemnation of the brutal and ruthless persecution of the Greeks of Pontus by the Government of Kemal Pasha and by Ottoman Turks in Anatolia, and deplores the failure of the European powers to take effective measures to restore and maintain order in Anatolia in conformity to the treaty of Sevres, and to exercise the authority reserved by said powers in that behalf; and the Senate respectfully requests that the President of the United States bring the atrocities in Pontus to the attention of the European powers and the council of the League of Nations, to the end that adequate and expeditious measures be taken in accordance with said treaty, to arrest the persecution and extermination of the inhabitants of Pontus who are of the Greek race and religion, and generally to enforce and vindicate the rights accorded racial and religious minorities in Anatolia by the said treaty.

Mr. President, the recitations contained in this resolution are entirely justified by the records which are available to all who are desirous of learning the facts. At this point I desire to place in the RECORD a statement made by the Ecumenical Patriarchate under date of October 7, 1921, and addressed to the high commissioners at Constantinople. Senators will recall that Constantinople is now under the control of the allied Governments. As I remember, three commissioners represent the allied nations and have practically the political control of Constantinople.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, which is the Constantinople synod of the Greek Orthodox Church, has been brought into contact with the Kemalist régime and its cruel and merciless persecutions of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and has from time to time given out facts with reference thereto.

The Turkish gazettes *Ehali* and *Hihal*, appearing in Samsoun, published in their last issues of 18th, 19th, and 25th of September the names of 3 Armenians and 163 Greeks, and among them those of two Greek Protestants, one missionary and the other a professor in the American college at Merzifoun, condemned to death, after a summary and derisory judgment of the so-called tribunals that are established by the sovereign authority which has substituted that of the Sultan. With the exception of 17 absent persons, among whom the Metropolitan of Amasia, actually a member of the holy synod, the others were executed. Many notables and also prelates and other ecclesiastics are included in the list of victims.

This testimony out of a Turkish source confirms the atrocities which the Ecumenical Patriarchate denounced from time to time since the armistice, and we do not hesitate now to make known to Your Excellency that, following the news emanating from all parts of the Black Sea littoral, the deportations and the wholesale executions of our Christian people continue and extend to a vast zone and that the women and the children are threatened in their turn by a wholesale massacre if no one comes to their assistance in time.

It is beyond doubt a system of extermination of Greeks and Armenians to the last through the whole territory of Asia Minor. We may add that no military necessity, no political precaution of any kind, can justify or explain the barbarous treatment to which our unhappy deportees are submitted; we have no knowledge that the Mussulmans in the territories annexed to Greece or merely under Greek administration have gone through any suffering simply because their sympathies are with the Turks.

We dare hope that the great powers will decide to take, even before it is too late, the necessary steps to put an end to these things so contrary to the general interest of Europe, no less than to the sentiments animating the Governments of the great liberal nations, in whose

name the loftiest principles were announced, but for the application of which the Christians of the East are still waiting.

Under date of October 19, 1921, the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued the following supplementary statement:

It is impossible to expose the real situation brought about to the Christian communities of Asia Minor by the Kemalist régime since the time of the armistice, especially during the present year, 1921, because it is impossible to communicate with these communities, for the reason that their spiritual heads have been dispersed and also because they are strictly isolated from any outside intercourse.

However, the general lines of the terrible vision of woe that betook the entire Hellenism of Asia Minor, owing to Mustapha Kemal, are well known. This tyrant of Asia Minor, a worthy successor in that land of the Turkish dictators Talahat and Enver, made so conspicuous during the war, continues the application of the program of these two notorious young Turks, by trying to solve the Hellenic question in Asia Minor through the wholesale extermination of its Greek inhabitants. In the same way they once endeavored to solve the Armenian question by the total annihilation of the Armenian nation. Taking advantage of the opportunity that was open to him after the armistice, being that there are no longer in Anatolia any Europeans or Americans to witness with their own eyes the terrible atrocities, he hastens to complete the program of extermination of the Hellenism of Asia Minor as soon as possible before peace is concluded and his task left unfinished.

From information obtained by the Oecumenical Patriarchate from reliable sources, it is a confirmed fact that all the adult Greek male inhabitants of the provinces of Caesarea, Amasia, Neocesarea, Iconium, Trebizond, Angora, Chaldia, Kolonia, Heliopolis, and Rhodopolis, as well as of parts of the Provinces of Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Nice, Chalcedon, Broussa, Pisidia, and Philadelphia, that are or had been under the Kemalist yoke, all the male inhabitants from 15 to 60, 65, and 70 years have been deported to inhospitable lands in the interior of Asia Minor to the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Erzerum, and Mamuret-ul-Aziz, and so they lost all track of their families. During this transportation Mustapha Kemal exceeded in savagery the Young Turks, who undertook a similar one during the World War, for, while they were pursuing the annihilation of the deported rather by means of hunger and thirst and long, forced marches, by means of privations and sickness, Mustapha Kemal decimates the deported by shells of guns and machine guns and by wholesale slaughter. We shall mention what has happened in Samsoun. Three contingents of Greek deportees were sent from this city to the interior, each consisting of about 1,000 persons. It has been confirmed that at Kavak, a distance of eight hours from Samsoun, 216 out of the first contingent were killed by the gendarmes accompanying these escorts, and 250 from the third. The second contingent was also decimated, but the number of killed is unknown. Those who are spared either fell in the middle of the road exhausted from hunger and privations, or died from sufferings in the locations where they are confined, because, purposely, they are deprived of any monetary or other relief on the part of their relatives, or rot in prisons accused of imaginary crimes which they have never committed. By far more painful is the condition of women and children left in their homes. From various informations that come from the provinces, especially from Pontus, and the central sections of Asia Minor, it has been ascertained that the gendarmes and the thieves constituting the Turkish hands are reveling in atrocious orgies against the Christian women, many of whom were by force abducted to Turkish harems. On the other hand, by the method of requisition, compulsory taxation, etc., the last penny has been taken away from these families, and as the Turks are forbidden to buy from them any real or personal property, these families are deprived of any means to make their living.

But that is not all. At many points, and especially in the vast extents of the Pontus littoral (Provinces of Amasia, Neocesarea, Chaldia, Kolonia, and part of Kerasund), even the women and children were deported. How many of them have been saved from the claws of death is not known. But it is more than certain that on account of the coming winter no one among them will survive, and so the humane decision taken by the League of Nations for the salvation of these deported women and children will be of no avail. It is rumored that in this section more than 180,000 souls perished already, but this number includes the deceased males as well.

But what is more surprising still is the total destruction of Christian towns and villages, especially in the districts of Pontus and those of Nicomedia and Nice, Pisidia and Heliopolis. It is really amazing

that the Turks, not satisfied with the extermination of the Christian population, destroy everything standing erect, that the surviving Christians, if any, may never find trace of their homes. Thus, we learn that out of the towns and villages of the Provinces of Pontus, which amount to 338 in the Province of Amasia, to 145 in the Province of Chaldia, and to 195 in the Province of Neocesarea, all those situated in a few hours' distance from the shore, and those in the interior have been destroyed by fires. Out of the said number of 338 villages in the Province of Amasia, only Samsoun, Bafra, Alacham, Amasia, and two, or at the most three, other maritime settlements are left. Even in the Province of Nicomedia, in the very gates of the capital city of Constantinople, many towns and villages belonging to historic Bithynia are in ruins.

Yet to these trials a new one is added by the ferocious Mustapha Kemal. The so-called independent courts, founded by him, namely for trying suspected persons, but in reality for committing official crimes, since two months now condemn to capital punishment the best Greek element of Pontus and of the central provinces. In one day alone they hanged in the square of Samsoun 172 Greeks, doctors, druggists, lawyers, editors, managers, large estate owners, merchants, clerks, and among others the over 80-years-old Protosyngellos of the Holy Metropolis of Amasia, the Archimandrite Panton Alvazides. They also condemned to death and hanged the deputy from Trezibond, Mr. Matthew Coides, Prof. George Papamarkou, of Samsoun, and Mr. Pautazides, professor in the American College of Merzefoun, and the Protestant preacher, Paul, of the same college. Aside from this there died in the prison of Amasia Bishop Zelon Euthymios, and rots in exile in Erzeroum the Metropolitan of Iconium Prokopios, together with the Armenian Metropolitan of Iconium, and the fate of Bishop Gervasios, Metropolitan Vicar of the Province of Kolonia, is unknown.

Such is, in general lines, the picture of Hellenism in Asia Minor; no worse exists in the long history of calamities and sufferings of the Greek nation.

Pontus, as I have indicated, is a part of Asiatic Turkey, and the treaty of Sevres did not attempt to detach it from Turkey or to award it to the Kingdom of Greece. Notwithstanding the district of Pontus is under Turkish control, those belonging to the Hellenic nation could not be otherwise than profoundly interested in the Pontian Greeks, though they were subjects of Turkey and perhaps for an indefinite period might continue under Turkish rule.

It may be interesting to present some historical facts concerning Pontus and its inhabitants. We must go into the dim past to get the first historical glimpse of Pontus. The district of Pontus covers an area of, perhaps, 450 miles easterly and westerly and from 75 to 150 or 200 miles northerly and southerly, bordering upon the southern coast of the Black Sea. The easterly limits of Pontus begin but a short distance from Batum, an important seacoast city upon the Black Sea; and the westerly limits extend some little distance beyond the town of Mezet, which is likewise upon the Black Sea. Hundreds of important seacoast towns are found within this vast territory, and there are likewise hundreds of towns and villages scattered over the entire territory of Pontus. Even in ancient times the natural resources and riches of Pontus were known, and its importance as a State was recognized. Its maritime business was extensive; and its trade and commerce enriched its inhabitants and gave it influence and power among the peoples of Asia Minor and southeastern Europe.

Pontus was colonized by the Greeks nearly a thousand years before Christ; and we are told by some historians that the Argonautic expedition of Jason founded the State of Pontus. The Greeks, even in those early days, were a brave and adventurous people. They loved the sea and established important cities and towns, not only in the region of the Ægean Sea and

along Mediterranean coasts, but they planted colonies along the southern borders of the Black Sea. As early as 756 B. C. the city of Trapezus—Trebizond—was founded by a colony of Sinopians; and we are furnished much information regarding it by Xenophon in his "Anabasis." Senators will recall the memorable march of Xenophon and his 10,000 soldiers. They were hospitably received by the Greeks of Trapezus. And from Xenophon we learn that even at that early date considerable progress had been made in the establishment of Greek colonies upon the shores of the Black Sea. For hundreds of miles along the southern coast of the Black Sea and extending some distance into the interior many colonies of Greeks were established, beginning nearly a thousand years before Christian era and extending to a period perhaps later than the birth of Christ.

The inhabitants of this vast region were enterprising and industrious, and developed a high state of civilization. There is something remarkable about the Greeks of those early periods. Their numbers were not great, and they were scattered along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the coasts of the Ægean Sea, and occupied the southern shores of the Black Sea. But wherever they were, though separated by lands and seas, with no organization which bound them into a political union, they still preserved the ideals and the culture that were developed in Athens and in the city States of Greece. What we call Greece, together with the Ægean Isles and a portion of Asia Minor, comprising what are known as the vilayets of Smyrna and Brusa—that is to say, Greece proper and her great colonies—was an inexhaustible treasure house which gave its riches for the enlightenment and civilization of the world. Poetry and art and literature and science, these were the products of ancient Greece; and the influence of the Hellenic race has been felt in all lands, and it has made powerful contribution to the development and progress of the world.

The Pontian Greeks responded to the best that was produced in the region of the Ægean Sea, and Pontus became a center of Greek culture. Nearly 3,000 years have passed since the first Greek colony was established there, and many of the ancient settlements exist to this day under the same names and upon the same sites where they were first established. It is remarkable that during all the centuries that have intervened, notwithstanding the long period of Turkish rule, the Pontian Greeks have preserved their individuality, their language, and, indeed, the ideals and aspirations of the people of the Greek Nation. Neither persecution nor tides of invasion of other races have absorbed or destroyed them. They are still Greeks possessing a national spirit and imbued with the ideals of those within the Greek State.

A people with an historic record of such interest and with achievements and victories, moral and otherwise, so memorable are entitled to the admiration and, indeed, the gratitude of the world, and their destruction would not only be an international calamity but it would constitute a crime so frightful, so colossal, as to call down the wrath of an offended Deity upon the perpetrators and compel the condemnation of all civilized nations.

When the Roman Empire, seeking world conquest, directed its legions against Greece and all Hellenic Provinces, Pontus in this

Roman invasion fell under Roman control. However, the Roman emperors accepted as autonomous many of the cities of the Pontus region. When the Hellenization of the eastern Roman Empire occurred Pontus constituted a part of the Byzantine Empire, and for a considerable period it formed a separate State under illustrious rulers. Even after the fall of Constantinople, as a result of the assaults of the Turks, the capital of Pontus withstood their military operations until 1461. With the fall of Trebizond, the Pontian capital, the Turks inundated the land. The inhabitants were subjected to persecution and at times to an oppressive servitude; but notwithstanding the situation, they maintained their courage, and by their devotion to Hellenic ideals and by reason of their intellectual superiority they were often able to blunt the keen edge of persecution and to secure immunity from destructive Ottoman policies. Their noble example and integrity and ability impressed and at times influenced their Turkish oppressors and resulted in periods during which, free from persecution, they were able to repair in part the disasters resulting from Turkish oppression and misrule. Now and then a Turkish Sultan, more liberal than his predecessors, would permit freedom of thought and religion and opportunity for commercial and material development and progress. But regardless of conditions resulting from Turkish authority, the robust and gallant people maintained their religious faith, their ideals, and their national spirit, and those qualities which have preserved them as a people in all the dark days through which they have passed. They have maintained to this day their language, their culture, and their traditions, and it is significant that the Greek language spoken in Pontus to-day abounds in archaic expressions—a fact which is characteristic of the perseverance by which they have clung to their national language and faith.

But the periods during which they were free from cruel persecutions were of short duration. The Turkish governors and military authorities were from time to time engaged in massacres and the most horrible and cruel persecutions. Thousands of young men would be seized and forced into the military service and into the Janissaries. Young girls would be forcibly seized and become the victims of a cruel and beastly soldiery, while others were carried away and placed in the harems of Turkish lords and rulers. Efforts would be made to force an abandonment of the Greek language, and to accomplish this end the tongues of the children would be cut out. It was thought that if they could not speak their language would be forgotten and the next generation would accept the Turkish language.

These persecutions prevented that increase in the population of Pontus which otherwise would have resulted. However, about the middle of the nineteenth century the population was approximately 1,000,000. With the waning power of the Turkish Empire, the persecutions of the Greeks and the Armenians increased, and in some sections and cities the populations were practically destroyed. So cruel and bitter had become the persecutions that many thousands were compelled to leave Pontus during the middle of the nineteenth century and they sought an asylum in southern Russia. Perhaps the number who have fled from Pontus and have taken refuge in Russia during this period and up to the present time would approximate 300,000.

Many of the Pontian Greeks who were unable to flee were butchered, and in some sections, in order to save themselves from extermination, there were wholesale professed conversions to Mohammedanism. It is recorded that in the seventeenth century in the region south and east of Trapezus nearly 200,000 of the inhabitants professed Mohammedanism when it became certain that their destruction was inevitable unless this course was pursued. However, though the people accepted Mohammedanism in name, they preserved their Bibles and relics of Christian worship, and their faith in Christianity was not extinguished; and in their homes they also maintained Greek customs and spoke the Greek dialect of Pontus. There are examples of persons who were forced to profess Mohammedanism and who during the remainder of their lives continued the worship of God in underground retreats and taught their children the Christian faith.

The Christian powers of Europe from time to time remonstrated with the Turkish Government because of its persecution of its Christian subjects. Reforms were promised but seldom instituted. In 1836 the demands of the Christian nations of Europe were heeded by the Turkish Government and liberty of conscience was proclaimed. Even then persecutions continued and thousands of Christians were murdered and tens of thousands driven from their homes and subjected to the most barbarous treatment.

In 1865 European ambassadors at Constantinople intervened and the Turkish Government promised religious liberty. Following this thousands of Greeks who had been forced to profess Mohammedanism joyously affirmed their faith in the religion of their fathers and openly gave adherence to the Greek Orthodox Church. The Turks, perceiving that they had been unable to destroy the faith of the Pontian Greeks, as well as the Hellenic peoples in other parts of Asia Minor, renewed their persecutions notwithstanding their promises of political and religious liberty.

In 1908 massacres were begun in various parts of Asia Minor. As a result of the oppression and atrocities of the Turkish Government, the Greek population of Pontus had been reduced at the outbreak of the World War to but slightly more than one-half million. It was shown at the peace conference that the compact Greek population in the Province of Trapezus amounted to but 350,000. Among these people there were 754 Greek schools, with an attendance of more than 37,000 pupils. There were also within this district a large number of Armenians. The latter have been practically exterminated, and the work of exterminating the Greeks of this district is now being continued.

When the Young Turks obtained control of the Government in 1908, there was a change in the policy of dealing with the Christian subjects of the Sultan. They began boycotting the Greeks and Armenians and excited Mussulman mobs to attack and kill the people and destroy their homes. Whatever privileges had been accorded under the pressure of Christian nations were revoked. Thousands of Greeks were forced into "labor battalions," so called, where they speedily lost their lives. Gen. von Sanders Pasha, a German officer, aided in the execution of a plan by which the collective annihilation of the inhabitants could be effectuated. This plan was known as

"deportation for strategic reasons." It was applied during the Balkan Wars, but when the World War began it was extensively employed in all parts of Asia Minor where there were Greek populations. Under this plan the Christian population were driven from their homes into the waste and desert lands of Asia Minor, where they were left to perish for want of food and from the inclemencies of the weather, or to fall victims to the murderous assaults of irregular troops and bandits and savage Kurds who infested the mountains and the plains. Under this plan more than 1,500,000 Christian Greeks and Armenians were destroyed. Their bleached bones lie in the mountain passes and on the deserts and plains of Anatolia. Their blood which drenched the soil cries aloud for vengeance.

In addition to the hundreds of thousands thus destroyed, tens of thousands of the males were forced into the army or into the "labor battalions," and it is known that most of them came to untimely ends.

When Turkey signed the armistice, the persecutions which had continued up until that time ceased. The military and political authorities undoubtedly believed that if they continued this exterminating policy the dictated terms of the peace conference would be more severe. They hoped by an abandonment of their cruel policy to find some little favor in the eyes of the conquering nations. But after the treaty of Sevres was signed, and it appeared that some of the European powers were indifferent to the execution of its terms, and when Mustapha Kemal became powerful enough to attack the treaty, to violate its terms, and to wage war upon Greece, there was a revival of the cruelties and persecutions not only of the Pontian Greeks but of all the Christian peoples within the Turkish territory.

These renewed persecutions by Kemal Pasha led the Ecumenical Patriarchate to appeal to the English and American churches and also invoke the intervention of the League of Nations, urging that steps be taken to prevent the entire destruction of the Christian populations of Turkey. In addition, the address which I have heretofore called attention to and placed in the Record, was issued to the high commissioners of Constantinople.

If time permitted, I could place before the Senate testimony which could not be contradicted, in corroboration of the statements herein made and referred to concerning the past atrocities of the Turks and the present barbarities of the Kemalist régime.

I have here the names of a large number of cities, towns, and villages within the districts of Amisoss and Kavzas, together with the number of families that resided therein, all of which have recently been destroyed and the population either massacred or driven into the wilds of Anatolia, where those who have not yet been destroyed must perish during the present winter. The information relative to the destruction of these places was furnished by refugees of Pontus and submitted to the Pontian League of Athens as well as to the Pontian League of New York. The number of places destroyed in the district of Amisoss was 59 and the number of families either killed or banished amounted to 2,360. In the district of Kavzas the number of places destroyed was 26 and the number of families either butchered or driven into the mountains and deserts

amounted to 1,866. The affidavits state that the number of persons exterminated in these villages amounts to 6,401. Let it be remembered that these barbarities have been recently committed—probably most of them within the past four months—and the work of destruction is still carried on by the Kemalist forces in all parts of Pontus, as well as in all parts of Anatolia where Christian populations are to be found and the Turks are in control. If the French troops and the Greek armies were to be withdrawn, the entire Christian population of Asiatic Turkey would doubtless be exterminated.

Mr. J. Zervos, head of the Hellenic mission of relief to the Greeks in Pontus, Caucasus, and Southern Russia, made a report to the Philological Society "Parnassos" at Athens on the 18th of October, 1919, showing the work of destruction then being wrought in Pontus by the Turks. In his report he directs attention to a subject to which I have briefly referred in this language:

It is a well-known fact that this large Greek population having a common origin and an unbroken historical continuity from the oldest times to this day, speaks a highly interesting archaic Greek idiom and preserves admirable folk songs, folklore, pure Greek traditions which go as far back as the Byzantine Hellenism and the earliest antiquity. The local customs are purely Greek; the people are characterized by a strong national consciousness and an earnest patriotism.

He refers to the régime of terror and the sinister activities for the purpose of destroying all traces of Hellenism in the Pontus region. Attention is called to the report of the Metropolitan of Trebizond to the Patriarchate, in which that eminent prelate stated:

While the Greek ecclesiastical authorities of this diocese were doing everything in their power to protect the Mussulman element of the Vilayet of Trebizond and after authority of the Russian Government were reinstalling the same in their homes with great difficulties and underhand opposition, the Turkish Government, at the same time, was wresting my flock from their homes, driving them cattle-like across impassable mountains in the heart of a severe winter—

This ecclesiast also refers to the persecutions following the retreat of the Russians and declares that they were—

carried out with increased fury by the very Turks who had received protection and all sorts of benefits at the hands of the Greeks during the Russian occupation.

The Rev. Panaretos, formerly abbot of the Monastery of St. John of Vazelon, who traveled extensively through the whole of Pontus early in 1919, at the request of the committee of the Pontus Greeks, in order to obtain information concerning conditions, states that the diocese of Amassia before the war had a population of 136,768, with 393 schools and 12,360 pupils and 493 teachers, 498 churches, two bishops, 19 suffragans, and 518 priests, and that at the time of his visit 72,395 of this number had been deported or exiled, 70 per cent of whom died in exile or during their deportation. He further says that less than 30 per cent of the deported ones had returned to their devastated homes after the armistice. He also states that 140 villages had been completely destroyed in the same section, that the Greek village of Cadikeuy, numbering 3,640 souls before deportation had been enforced, at the time of his visit had only 810 inhabitants, and there remained but 100 houses out of 450, and of the former number many were partly destroyed.

He further states in his report that he visited Ordou, in the diocese of Neokaisarea, which numbered before the war 14 towns, 166 villages, 1 secondary school, 18 grammar schools, 173

primary schools, and a Greek population of 87,457. At the time of his visit 25,000 of this number had been deported, mainly from the communities along the coast, into the interior, and 2,700 had been taken to Russia. This prelate declares that the persecution was still raging and that the "loss of life and property was appalling." In those places where deportation had not been ordered the loss of life was great, and 50 per cent of the Greek population had died as a result of the hardships, beatings, and imprisonment to which they had been subjected by the Turkish gendarmerie and officials who terrorized the country.

Referring to that part of the coast visited by him he states that "all trace of the once flourishing villagers has disappeared. Out of the 25,000 deported only 6 per cent of the villagers and 35 per cent of the townspeople have been saved, mere shadows in rags and living witnesses of Turkish barbarism. Throughout the diocese 20 priests were shot or hanged or burnt or buried alive." This reverend man declares that "in the midst of this desolation the Greek race shows its vitality; a community has again been started, schools have been opened, orphanages founded where the orphans—victims of the persecution—find shelter. The orphanage of the community cares for 106 orphans, and their number is steadily increasing. The central committee for relief to the Greek deportees had sent from Constantinople up to the time of our arrival at Ordon Ltqs. 1,500, and the American Committee for Relief in the Near East had given Ltqs. 3,300. The Greek Red Cross has also helped in the way of medicines and clothing."

Senators will remember that these conditions existed early in 1919. The persecutions have continued since that period, and, as I have stated, under the Kemalist régime they have been more violent and deadly than before. Rev. Panaretos further states in his report that on the 17th of April, 1919, he called at Ponlandjak, a Greek town which before the war numbered 3,600 inhabitants, with numerous villages in close proximity. The inhabitants of this small section had been compelled to go into exile in 1917, and that after the armistice only 1,500 were alive to return. Those who did return found their houses destroyed and all of the Greek villages in ruins. However, with courage the survivors began the work of reconstruction, opened an orphanage, formed a community, elected their elders and school board, and founded a charitable society which at the time the reverend father was there was organizing various forms of entertainment for the benefit of the orphanage and the suffering people.

From this scene of desolation he went to Kerassound, an extensive diocese, which before the war contained 2 towns, 14 small towns, 266 villages, with a total Greek population of 167,450. He states that of this number 45,000 were compelled during the armistice to seek refuge in Russia and more than 90,000 were deported by the Turks into the interior of Asia Minor. He declares that 80 per cent of the deportees died of hunger, hardship, and cruel treatment, and that only 7,500 at the time of his visit had returned. Many were hanged without cause, large numbers butchered in cold blood by the Turkish gendarmes and soldiers, and hundreds murdered by Turkish refugees. Every Greek village in the district had been destroyed, many of them being razed to the ground.

Mr. Zervos in his report refers to the fiendish methods employed to exterminate Hellenism in Asia Minor. He states that the Turks deported and exiled the Greeks during the winter, denying them any food or clothing, and the soldiers and officials convoying the deportees and the exiles refused to permit their victims to camp near inhabited places, their object being to expose them to cold and hunger in order that their death might more quickly be brought about. He calls attention to the fact that little children and the old, infirm, and sick were abandoned in the ravines and the woods, where they died either of hunger and exposure or from the bayonets of the Turks. "At every step the traveler now finds the skeletons of Greeks who thus suffered martyrdom."

Those who read these reports will be filled with horror and indignation. It seems as though every device of refined cruelty was employed by the heartless and bloodthirsty Turks to inflict suffering upon the unhappy people who were their victims. Mr. Zervos states that of the 600,000 Pontian Greeks who were living in their homes at the beginning of the European war, at least 235,000 were butchered or came to their death through famine and hardship following deportations and that 80,000 succeeded in escaping to the Caucasus, where they are refugees and suffering a wretched existence. Senators will remember that Mr. Zervos speaks of conditions prior to his report in October, 1918; Turkish atrocities have destroyed thousands of starving and exiled victims. It is certain that most of the Greek population of Pontus who were still living when Mr. Zervos made his report have been destroyed by the Turks and the Kemalist forces.

In 1919 the Greek Patriarchate published to the world a report of 147 pages, which I have before me, in which there is much detailed information concerning the persecutions of the Greek population of Turkey between 1914 and 1918. The American people and all Christian nations should become familiar with this report, as well as with the unimpeachable testimony which establishes the cruelties and atrocities which have been inflicted upon the unhappy Christian people of Asia Minor. The unspeakable acts of cruelty are so revolting that one can not read these pages except with horror. The savagery, the beastly and horrible cruelty upon the part of the Turks scarcely find parallel in the darkest and foulest days that have come to man. My eye rests upon these lines, which refer to a small district near the monastery of Vazelon:

The metropolitan of Rodopolis, Monseigneur Cyril, wrote on the 12th of November, 1918, the following:

"One shudders at the accounts given of the atrocities committed and the number of victims. No less than 487 persons, who had hidden in the mountains, grottos, and subterranean caves, were savagely massacred. Among these victims were 14 young girls who had sought refuge in the monastery of Vazelon, where the Turks, after first violating these unfortunate creatures, mutilated them in a horrible way."

Churches and monasteries where women and children sought refuge were invaded and after pillaging and plundering everything portable the women and children were butchered or burned in the flaming buildings. The Turkish commander of the Kayoler-Han post ordered the monastery of Vazelon to be surrounded, and all who were therein—the monks, 780 Greek

refugees, and 29 Armenians—to abandon it, refusing the pleas of the inviolability of the monastery, which was protected by imperial decree. The commander then ordered troops to enter, all furniture and other treasures, including the archives, Bibles, and manuscripts, were either carried away or burned, and the church desecrated and destroyed. The nuns of a convent situated a short distance from the monastery were carried away and met with a most horrible end.

Out of 1,250 inhabitants of Elevi only 150 survived. From the district of Tripoli, numbering 30,000 people, only 1,500 to 2,000 escaped destruction. Let me read from page 126 of this report:

Speaking of the community of Ounla, it is stated that after deportations began in 1917 the gendarmes beat and plundered the inhabitants and scattered them between Castmbol, Zile, and other parts. Many Christians, in order to escape from the tyranny of the Turks, took shelter in the woods, where they dwelt for several months. Three hundred of them, in a most piteous state, went to Trebizond and thence to Russia.

A letter written from Ounla states:

Shortly before our expulsion a detachment of troops arrived. Ismail Bey, a Circassian, was at the head of these savage hordes of Kurds. After having brought as many men as he could together, he shut them up in a house and dispatched them by groups of two or three at a time to the slaughterhouse he had prepared beforehand.

What happened to the women and children after that is also beyond description. All the nice-looking women and girls belonging to these unfortunate peasants were raped and dishonored. Some managed to flee to the mountains, part were saved; others died of hunger; and others returned again, only to be murdered. But even the men, women, and children who survived did not fare much better. At first they were dispersed to the surrounding Turkish villages, where they were treated as slaves. A few months later on they were exiled to the interior of Asia Minor.

In the prosperous community of Rize the Turks destroyed all Greek property and massacred and deported all Greeks except four.

In concluding this report, the patriarchate states that when it submitted complaints to the sovereign nothing resulted. Continuing, the patriarchate appeals to the great powers—

demanding protection and intervention in the name of humanity, in that of civilization and justice, in the name of the many treaties whereby the existence of the Christians in the world has been guaranteed, beseeching them to prevent the accomplishment of that which 11 centuries of tyranny never dared to dream of.

In the issue of the New York Times, bearing date of December 11, 1921, there appears a dispatch from Paris referring to the Turkish nationalist plans and activities in Cilicia. The dispatch is based upon a statement appearing in the *Eclair*, a paper whose editor is said to be a close personal friend of Premier Briand. The Paris dispatch proceeds:

The story is more surprising because it seems to support the British contention that the accord signed last October between the Angora Government and M. Franklio Bouillon for France would imperil the safety not only of Christians but of proably Mussulmans in the territories evacuated by France.

It will be recalled by Senators that there was criticism in the United States and doubtless in certain parts of Europe because of the apparent purpose of France to repudiate the Sevres treaty and to enter into a separate agreement with the Kemalist Government. Great Britain, as indicated, did not look with favor upon this course. I am not able to state that Great Britain desired to adhere to the Sevres treaty, although my

impression is that the British Government would have been entirely satisfied to join with the allied nations who participated in the treaty of Sevres in compelling the Turks to execute its provisions. The Eclair's account of what is now occurring is as follows:

Already the Kemalists are sending numerous convoys of Christians through Silvas toward we know not what place of exile or death. All the privileges accorded by the Sultans to the Christians have been taken away and those promised by the Kemalists have not been accorded. At Adana, in Cilicia, and even on the frontiers of Syria an organization called the Club of National Vengeance, which is an offshoot of the Club of Union and Progress, is showing the greatest hostility not only against Christians but also against those Mussulmans who made the mistake of believing in French protection. Large numbers of these Mussulmans are taking refuge in Syria and are protesting that they should have been placed under the protection of the Sultan when the French withdrew from the district and not given over to the Kemalist brigands.

The article further continues and quotes from Kemalist newspapers, all of which are printed in red ink, and which indicate that Kemal Pasha is counting on recruiting 50,000 fresh soldiers from Cilicia to aid in an offensive against the Greeks. Reference is also made to another advantage which the Kemalists expect to derive from the agreement with France, namely, that they will be able to utilize the railway systems of southern Asia Minor for military operations and make Adana a base from which they can conduct an aggressive war. This article condemns the French agreement with the Kemalists and points to the dangers which it lays upon the French protectorate of Syria.

I call particular attention to the statement that not only is there the greatest hostility toward Christians but also such Mussulmans as believed that the French would afford protection to them against their coreligionists. It would appear from the situation here indicated that the Kemalists, relieved from further military operations, offensive or defensive, against the French, consider themselves free to strengthen their military forces for the purpose of driving the Greek forces from Asia Minor.

This account also, it seems to me, supports the view that the Kemalist régime intends to exterminate all Christian peoples in Asia Minor. They have practically destroyed the Armenians in Asiatic Turkey and have either murdered or driven from their homes nearly a million Pontian Greeks. In other parts of Asia Minor there were hundreds of thousands of Greeks residing at the outbreak of the World War, and large numbers of them have been deported and murdered and tens of thousands have been compelled to take refuge in the regions of Smyrna and in Greece proper. If the allied nations had enforced the treaty of Sevres, the atrocities now being committed would never have occurred. I fear that the allied nations, parties to this treaty, have failed to perform the high and responsible duty resting upon them in dealing with the defeated Turkish Empire and its nationals.

The civilized world insisted that there should no longer be Turkish rule in any part of Europe, that the Turkish State should be limited to certain portions of Asia Minor, generally described as Anatolia, and that it should give guarantees for the protection of the Christian peoples living within its borders. It would appear that jealousies entered into the counsels of

the allied nations participating in the treaty of Sevres, as a result of which, if they did not abandon the treaty, they failed to enforce its terms.

This situation was taken advantage of by the reactionary forces in Turkey, who gave support to Kemal Pasha and boldly announced their repudiation of the treaty of Sevres and their purpose to regain territory which had been awarded to Greece and to establish Turkish authority throughout Asia Minor as well as Thrace and constitute Turkey a strong military power. As I have indicated, the program of these reactionary elements contemplated the destruction of the Armenian Republic, which, as I have stated, is a fait accompli, and also the extermination of the Pontian Greeks and the destruction of Hellenic peoples in various parts of Anatolia. The Kemalists, or the Nationalists, as they are called, avowed their purpose to drive the Greek Army from Asia Minor, where it is seeking to protect the Greek interests in the vilayets of Aidin and Brussa and to subject the more than 1,100,000 Greeks residing within such territory to the degrading, oppressive, and brutal tyranny of Turkish rule.

The treaty of Sevres, as stated in the resolution which I offered and to which I have called the attention of the Senate, provides for full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey, without regard to birth, race, nationality, or religion. The allied nations who wrote this treaty knew that within Asiatic Turkey, as its lines had existed for many years, there were a large number of Armenian Christians and Nestorians—who, as Senators know, are Christians—and also 1,700,000 Greeks.

At the peace conference at Paris in 1919 the undisputed evidence showed that the Hellenic nation was distributed substantially as follows:

Four million three hundred thousand inhabitants within the kingdom of Greece, as its boundaries were then prescribed; 151,000 in northern Epirus and Albania; 731,000 in Thrace, including those within the city of Constantinople; 43,000 in Bulgaria, not including the many thousands who were annexed to Bulgaria by the treaty of Bucharest; 2,000,000—approximately—in Asia Minor; 102,000 in the Dodecanesus; 235,000 in the island of Cyprus. In addition there were more than 1,000,000 distributed in various lands. In Egypt and in the rest of Africa, 150,000; North and South America, 450,000; and in southern Russia, 400,000. Of the 731,000 Greeks residing in Thrace and in the region of Constantinople, more than 364,000 were residents of Constantinople.

At that time the entire population of Constantinople numbered but 1,173,670, of whom only 449,114 were Turks. The Armenians, Greeks, and other Christian peoples therefore greatly outnumbered the Turks, so that it can not be said that Constantinople is a Turkish city. More than 230 schools were conducted in Constantinople by the Greeks, with more than 30,000 pupils; moreover, as Senators know, this famous and important city was and is the seat of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate.

If Senators will examine the map of Greece and the Ægean Sea and Asia Minor, they will discover numerous islands separating Greece from the Asiatic shore. These islands are inhabited by Greeks and in every way are a part of Greece.

Geographically and ethnically they constitute a part of the Greek State, and the same may be said of a section of the western part of Asia Minor. The vilayet of Adin and a portion of the vilayet of Brussa have a population of more than 1,200,000 Greeks. They support by their own resources more than 565 churches, 652 schools, and approximately 100,000 pupils. The neighboring islands, which geographically and economically constitute a part of Greece, contain more than 100,000 inhabitants and constitute a chain binding the mainland of Greece and the Hellenic territory of Asia Minor. The German geographer Philippson, in his work entitled "*Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*," states that—

Asia Minor is separated right in the middle by a great natural frontier; on the one side an inclosed plateau of an almost Asiatic nature, on the other an Aegean land exactly like the Greek regions and closely connected by nature and history with the sea and with Greece just beyond the sea. The result is that now, as in the past, Asiatic civilization reigns in the interior while Greek culture prevails in western Asia Minor.

He further states that in western Asia Minor there is a configuration which is quite distinctive, that there has been a "sinking away of the terrain in a recent geological epoch," and that this peculiarity is recognized in Greece, so that the two may be considered as constituting but one geographical entity—that of the Aegean.

Permit me to add that notwithstanding the 500 years of Turkish oppression, the Greeks of Asia Minor, and particularly of the two Provinces just referred to, have maintained their language, religion, culture, national consciousness, and high ideals. Within these vilayets illustrious men of ancient Greece were born. Homer was born in what we call Asia Minor, and many of the heroic figures of Greece who added to the glory and fame of Hellas prior to the Christian era were natives of the western part of Asia Minor, which then constituted a part of the Greek city States. Let me add that there are fewer Turks within this section of Asia Minor than there are Greeks. It is inconceivable that this part of Asia Minor should again be brought under Turkish rule. It was a part of Hellas nearly 3,000 years ago. It is essentially Greek and should constitute a part of the Greek State.

If it be contended that there are a large number of Mohammedians within this territory, it may be answered that within the Turkish State, as delimited by the Sevres treaty, there were approximately as many Greeks. Because of their scattered condition and the fact that, aside from those who lived in Pontus, the great majority of them reside in parts of Anatolia in which the Turkish population greatly preponderates, it is obvious that they could not be attached to the Greek State. It was these unfortunate people the commissioners had in mind when the Sevres treaty was drawn; and the provisions of the treaty, calling for the protection of all inhabitants of Turkey, "regardless of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion," were designed to protect them from further Turkish oppression.

The apparent repudiation by the allied nations of the treaty of Sevres is, in my judgment, a most unfortunate thing. The allied nations, as well as Christian peoples everywhere, should be interested in the protection of Hellenism. A powerful, progressive Greek State is in the interest of the peace of

Europe as well as in the interest of civilization. The Orient is in a condition of ferment. The Mohammedan population of Asia Minor, India, and Western Asia is in liquid form and subject to irresponsible and revolutionary movements. The more than 8,000,000 Ottoman Turks constitute a menace to Greece and to the Balkan States. Greece should be fortified and strengthened. Her important interests in the Levant should be recognized. She should be made a citadel of strength against which any revolutionary or barbarous force from the East might beat in vain.

And a strong and powerful Greece will hold in check any military movement that might be fomented in Bulgaria. I submit that the allied nations, as well as this Nation, should be more interested in Greece and its welfare than in Turkey, who was our bitter and relentless foe, or Bulgaria, whose legions strengthened the Central Empires when they sought the control of Europe and the defeat of this Republic.

I protest against a policy which weakens Greece and strengthens Turkey. I express my profound regret at the action of France in entering into the Angora agreement with the Kemalist régime, which inevitably will result in strengthening the nationalistic movement in Turkey and weakening Greece. It will be regarded by the Kemalists as a retreating movement upon the part of the allied nations and a confession that the Turks may continue their atrocities and foul and hideous crimes and wage relentless war upon the Greek forces engaged in protecting those parts of Asia Minor which geographically and ethnically are a part of Greece and which should constitute a part of the Greek State.

It would appear as though Turkey was to emerge from the war victorious. If she may force her authority over Smyrna and contiguous territory, why may she not demand that Turkish sovereignty shall not be extinguished in Constantinople or any part of Thrace? Indeed, there are signs which portend a purpose upon the part of the Turks to wrest Thrace from Greece, and there are many symptoms of a movement with which Bulgaria is sympathetic to extinguish the authority of Greece over every portion of Thrace. The situation in Asia Minor and in the region of the Aegean Sea is not reassuring, and the allied nations should take immediate steps to enforce the Sevres treaty and support Greece in her efforts to defend her rights and protect the Christian people in Asia Minor.

The recognition by France of the Kemalist régime even as the de facto Government of Turkey was, in my opinion, most unfortunate and may prove the contributing cause of a most deplorable development. Article 151 of the treaty of Sevres provides "that the powers shall consult with the council of the League of Nations upon measures necessary to guarantee the provisions of the treaty," which provides for the protection of Christian minorities within the Turkish State. The guarantees provided have been disregarded, and the Christian nations with apparent unconcern witness the destruction of cities and towns inhabited by Greeks and Armenians and the execution of an infamous plan to work their complete extermination.

I appreciate that our Nation was not a party to the treaty of Sevres. If our Government had declared war, as it should have done against the Turkish Empire and the Kingdom of Bulgaria,

we would have had a voice in the treaty which dealt with these belligerent powers. The United States could then have insisted as a matter of right upon the enforcement of the treaty and demanded of Turkey that it protect the Christian peoples within its borders and afford to them the guaranties of the treaty.

Senators will perceive that in the resolution which I have offered and which I shall ask the Committee on Foreign Relations to consider there is no proposed interference with other nations. But I submit that though we did not declare war upon Turkey, the interests of Turkey and the Central Empires were so inseparably intertwined that in dealing with Austria and Germany we are not to be precluded from at least calling the attention of the allied nations to a pitiful, inhuman, and tragic situation occasioned by Turkey and to consequences which might eventuate in a recrudescence of hostilities which indirectly, if not directly, would affect the United States and the peace of the world.

But I submit that there would be no transgression of the most punctilious regard for international proprieties if the Chief Executive of the United States should direct the attention of the European powers, and particularly the allied nations, to the conditions in Turkey and to the inhuman and brutal treatment to which the Christian peoples of Turkey are subjected. Nor can there be any impropriety in our Government appealing to the League of Nations, which is linked with the Sevres treaty, with a view to securing its interposition to prevent further bloodshed and massacre.

This Nation has often lifted its voice against cruelty and oppression and for the protection of helpless minorities. Resolutions have been adopted by one or both branches of Congress protesting against the wrongs to which political and religious minorities in governments have been subjected. But even if there should be no Executive appeal, Congress should declare its abhorrence of the ruthless exterminating policy which is being pursued by the Turks against unoffending Christians and should by appropriate resolution call the attention of the civilized world to the atrocities committed by the Turks upon helpless peoples.

Turkey should be made aware of the fact that this Republic looks with horror upon her merciless and bloody acts and will refuse to sustain any relations with a people or a government stained with innocent blood and covered with infamous crimes.

It has been stated that the Kemalist régime contemplates sending representatives to America, either to secure recognition at the hands of this Republic or to float loans to enable Kemal Pasha's government to meet its obligations and to maintain it in authority and power. Even the suggestion that America should receive such representatives or that anywhere in this broad land a single penny could be obtained by the Turkish Government or by the Kemalist régime should be an insult to the American people.

If the European nations will not interpose to save from destruction the Christian populations of Asia Minor, then this Nation and the churches and the public-spirited and philanthropic people throughout our land should lift their voices in solemn protest against the consummation of this wicked pur-

pose; they should arouse civilized nations from their lethargy and put in operation such influences and moral forces as will bring fear to the hearts of the Kemalist forces and compel the renunciation of their purpose to destroy the Christian inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey and to regain authority over territory to which they are not entitled and which under every principle of right and justice should not constitute a part of any Turkish State.

Mr. President, there is another matter relevant to the present discussion which I shall briefly refer to. The bolshevik government of Moscow has been rendering material aid to the Kemalist régime and now has its representatives in various parts of Anatolia. The evidence is conclusive that the bolsheviks have been aiding in various ways the Nationalist government in its efforts to destroy the Sevres treaty and to regain possession of Asia Minor, if not all territory within the Turkish Empire as it existed at the outbreak of the war.

At a conference of communists, at which representatives from Turkey and other Near East countries and also bolshevik Russia were present, held at Batum some months ago, the revolutionary doctrines of the third internationale were emphasized and encouragement given to the Ottoman Turks to wage war against the allied nations. The bolsheviks joined in the persecution of the Armenians and materially contributed to the destruction of the Armenian Republic. They sent representatives among the Mohammedans in various parts of Asia Minor and as far as India for the purpose of provoking the masses to revolt against constituted authorities and to wage war against what they denominated "capitalistic governments."

If it had not been for the help given by the bolsheviks and the direct, if not the indirect, aid received by the Kemalist forces from a number of the European nations, in my opinion the Kemalist movement would not have assumed its present proportions, and the terms of the Sevres treaty, perhaps with some modifications, would have been accepted by all parties to it; and the Christian populations of Asia Minor would not have suffered the persecutions, the horrible and decimating effects of which I have so imperfectly described.

Undoubtedly, if the Sevres treaty is wholly repudiated and the Kemalist movement triumphs and the allied nations offer no restraints to the licentious and blood-thirsty purposes of the Turks, they will, after destroying the Christian populations of Asia Minor, demand the return of Thrace, the possession and control of Constantinople, and the recognition of that ancient city as the capital of the Turkish Empire. Bulgaria will be encouraged to make war upon Greece and will be promised a division of Thrace in the event of an allied triumph between Turkey and Bulgaria.

Mr. President, Constantinople must never be returned to Turkish control; and the crescent flag which has represented lust and rapine and murder and crimes unspeakable must not be permitted to float upon European soil.

I shall not further speak of Constantinople and the disposition which should be made of it, as I have heretofore expressed, on the floor of the Senate and by resolutions which I have offered, my views with respect to this subject. But I do protest against any course which will deprive Greece of western

Thrace—that portion of Thrace which she is now in possession of and which is subject to her political control.

I have, upon a number of occasions, been asked to state some of the many reasons which call for the award to Greece of what is known as western Thrace; that is to say, all of Thrace except that portion of ancient Thrace lying to the east of the west boundary of Chatalja. A suitable reply calls for some historical consideration. Modern Thrace comprises the region extending along the Ægean Sea and Sea of Marmora, from the eastern boundary of Macedonia to Constantinople on the Bosphorus. Thrace touches on the east the Black Sea, and extends northward to the Balkan plateau. Western Thrace is sometimes called Bulgarian Thrace merely because Bulgaria obtained possession of the same at the close of the late Balkan wars. The treaty between the allied and associated powers, not including the United States and Bulgaria, which was prepared in Paris in September, 1919, provides for the cession of Western Thrace to the allied and associated powers. Greece became possessed of western Thrace because ethnically, geographically, culturally, and by every standard of justice she was entitled to an award constituting it a portion of her territory.

Let me briefly direct attention to the historical relations of Thrace, as well as its present ethnographical status.

The original inhabitants of the Greek peninsula, as well as of the country lying between the Adriatic and Ægean and Black Seas, were allied to the Hellenic tribes and spoke a language which was related to the Hellenic dialects. The same is true of the indigenous inhabitants of western Asia, or Asia Minor. The Greek peninsula proper included the Peloponnesus and the upper Provinces of Thessaly and Epirus. Macedonin, which bordered these on the north, was in the earlier days of Greek history regarded as a sort of frontier kingdom which was not a part of Greece proper. The country lying to the north of Macedonia and Epirus, stretching from the Adriatic to the Bosphorus and skirting the Ægean Sea, was known as Thrace and Illyriennu, Illyricum being situated upon the Adriatic and comprising what is now Albania and Serbia, and Thrace occupying the country to the east lying generally between the Danube River and the Ægean Sea and extending to the Bosphorus and Black Seas. The oldest dialect of these countries which has survived is presently spoken in Albania. It is clearly related to the Greek tongue and bears evidences of being of greater antiquity than the Greek. It is also known that the ancient Illyrians were related in speech and blood to the original tribes of Italy. The original language and culture of Thrace therefore was Hellenic, and the fundamental Hellenic character has persisted until this day.

Philip the Second, King of Macedonia, reigned in the fourth century, B. C., from 359 to 336. He was an Hellene by birth and tongue, although as King of Macedonia he was regarded as an outsider by the other Greeks. Philip brought Greece into his domain. One of his early accomplishments was to annex Chalcidice, the country on the Ægean lying to the east of what is now Salonica, to the Macedonian kingdom. Philip also brought the towns in Thrace under his dominion and thus accomplished the political unity of the Hellenic cities and peoples. Philip's son and successor reigned from 336 to 325 B. C. Upon

the death of Alexander his kingdom was divided among four of his generals. To Seleucus Nicator was assigned Thrace, together with territories in Asia Minor. Lysimachus obtained possession of Greece proper. The Roman conquest of the East was even then imminent. Some of the Greek cities had assisted Carthage in her wars with Rome, and the Romans were determined to put an end to the Greek power. In 146 B. C., Macedonia became a Roman province, and the Roman dominion was within a short time extended over the whole of Greece and Thrace and also over Asia Minor. The Romans, however, were satisfied with exercising political control in Thrace. All they demanded was allegiance to the Roman authority. There was liberty of speech and religion and a free field for the development and extension of Greek culture. At the beginning of the Christian era the Greek language was spoken in Thrace and in western Asia Minor. The Epistles of the Apostle Paul were written in Greek and addressed to the Greek communities in both Asia Minor and Macedonia.

In 395 A. D., the Roman Empire was divided by the Emperor Theodosius between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. The seat of the eastern empire which was assigned to Honorius was the Greek city of Byzantium at the eastern end of Thrace on the Bosphorus. The Emperor Constantine had already established Byzantium as the new capital of the Roman Empire, which was named Constantinople in his honor. Indeed, Byzantium was to be the capital of a new Christian empire, having its seat in the center of Greek culture and of the Greek Christian communities, which were in fact the beginning and foundation of the Christian Church. The Byzantine Empire flourished for a thousand years until the incursion of the Turks into Constantinople in 1453 and their subjugation of the whole Balkan and Illyrian region, including Greece itself and the Ægean islands. The seat of the Turkish power was then established in Constantinople, and for more than five centuries the Turks have maintained here the capital of their constantly diminishing empire.

Greece itself was the first of the Turkish Provinces in Europe to regain its independence. The independent Greece, however, did not even include Macedonia. In the years since she gained her independence, however, one of the principal aims of the Greeks has been to liberate and redeem the ancient Hellenic lands and peoples from the tyrannies of the Turks. The liberation of the unredeemed Greeks has been the national passion of the free Greeks not only in the mother country but in all the world.

The Turkish Provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania attained under the arrangements of the powers at the congress at Vienna either an independent status or paid only a nominal tribute to the Sultan. Until the recent Balkan wars, however, Turkey retained control of the Vardar Valley, extending from Salonika to the Danube, including at its northern extremity the sanjak of Novibazar, which intervened between Montenegro and Serbia, and gave the Sultan control of the communications between the Danubian frontier and Salonika and Constantinople. Macedonia, Albania, and Thrace remained under the Turkish thralldom. Bulgaria declared her independence of Turkey under her own Czar and

thus severed the bond which nominally connected her with the Sultan. The Balkan wars were fought for the liberation of Macedonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Epirus, and Thrace from the Turkish power. The final result was that Turkey in Europe was restricted to the residue of the Province of Adrianople, lying east of the Maritza River, together with the city of Constantinople. Greece obtained a large part of Macedonia, including the Ægean coast at Saloniki and Kavalla; Serbia was extended to include the sanjak of Novibazaar, and extended southward through the Vardar Valley to the Greek frontier behind Saloniki; Albania was removed from the sovereignty of Turkey and given an independent status; and Bulgaria obtained, besides a very large part of Macedonia, its northern part, that part of Thrace which extends along the Ægean Sea from the Mesta to the Maritza River. In the recent war both Turkey and Bulgaria joined the enemies of the allied and associated powers and shared defeat with Germany and her allies. Bulgaria was required to renounce western Thrace to the allied and associated powers, and the Turkish domains in Europe, including eastern Thrace and Constantinople, were placed in the hands of the victorious nations. These events brought modern Thrace in its entirety into the hands of the allied and associated powers, to be disposed of according to the interests and rights of the inhabitants and upon such principles as would promote peace and a permanent settlement.

The principal elements of the population in Thrace are Turkish and Greek. These terms have, however, a religious as well as an ethnological signification. In the five centuries of Turkish domination thousands of persons of Hellenic blood have been converted by force or fraud to the Moslem religion. Thus the Albanians, though nominally of the Mohammedan creed, are by blood related to the indigenous inhabitants of the country, and are not Turks by blood or race. The same is true of thousands of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, and is doubtless true of many of the inhabitants of Thrace. In the Turkish vilayet of Adrianople, which includes the whole of modern Thrace, exclusive of Constantinople, less than one-half of the inhabitants are Turks, and this word must be understood as denoting those who are of the Moslem faith rather than of the Turkish race. The Greeks constitute a full one-third of the population and the Bulgarians but one-tenth. In Constantinople, including the suburb of Chatalja, and excluding Scutaria, which lies across the Bosphorus in Asia, the Turks constitute but one-third of the population, and of the non-Turkish elements the Greeks have over one-half. Although the Bulgarians have endeavored to increase the number of their people in western Thrace by persistent colonization, the number of Bulgarians is relatively inconsequential. There are a large number of Turks in Thrace and Constantinople, but these, as stated above, constitute less than one-half of the population of Thrace and only one-third of the population of Constantinople. In recent years the tendency has been for the Turkish population formerly in the Balkans to concentrate in that part of Thrace which remained under Turkish sovereignty.

There has been a constant migration into Thrace from the various countries of the Balkans. There has, therefore, been an artificial concentration of Moslems in Thrace, and yet the

Moslems are in the minority. Generally speaking, the non-Turkish elements are Christian and Jewish in religion, and have common understandings and interests which bind them together. The Turks have demonstrated by their administration of non-Turkish countries that they are clearly unfit and incompetent to govern non-Turkish nations. The Turkish law, moreover, is not suitable or fit to be applied in civilized or Christian communities. There are many thousands of Jews settled at Saloniki or at other ports of Greece. The Greeks, moreover, have been in communication with the Jews and Turks for centuries. I think the fact is that there is but little, if any, antipathy on the part of either Turks or Jews against the Greeks in Thrace, and it can be asserted with confidence that both Turks and Jews can enjoy and exercise their rights and liberties under Greek law and government. Indeed, the Turks at Adrianople, which was captured by Bulgaria in the last Balkan war and was afterwards reconquered by the Turks, declared an utter abhorrence of being placed under Bulgarian rule, but expressed a willingness to be placed under Greek rule. The Greeks have the same system of law which spread from imperial Rome over the whole of continental Europe and under which all persons, without regard to creed, race, or condition, are protected and vindicated in their personal liberties and rights. And personal liberty, after all, consists essentially in the establishment and administration of law which protects every man in his personal rights and property, all of which constitutes what we call justice. There are, therefore, no proper impediments to the establishment of Greek rule over Thrace.

The Bulgarians have no such interests in Thrace as would warrant, in any view of the case, the extension of Bulgarian political control over any part of Thrace. The Bulgarians do, however, assert that they have need for a commercial outlet upon the Ægean Sea. The port of Dedeagach, in western Thrace, does serve in a very minor way for Bulgarian commerce, but the quantity of Bulgarian commerce passing through this port is relatively unimportant. Bulgaria has two well-developed ports—Burgas and Varna—on the Black Sea. Constantinople itself is an important port for Bulgarian commerce, and Saloniki could serve Bulgarian trade better than any other port on the Ægean. The outlet for Serbian commerce at Saloniki is absolutely essential. Indeed, the principal part of the commerce of Saloniki has its origin or destination in Serbia. Serbia was the ally and friend of Greece and of the allied and associated powers in the late war. Arrangements for the accommodation of Serbian commerce at Saloniki have been concluded, which are altogether adequate and satisfactory to Serbia and which do not interfere in anyway with the political control and authority of Greece at Saloniki. Similar arrangements could be made for the accommodation of Bulgarian commerce at Dedeagach or Saloniki. Bulgaria is certainly not entitled to demand better or more favorable accommodations at the Greek ports on the Ægean than have been accorded to Serbia. Greece should not be required to treat her enemy better than her friend.

I submit that in the interest of justice as well as for the peace of Europe, Thrace, as I have defined it, should constitute an inseparable part of the Greek State, and all conspiracies to

return any portion of this territory to Bulgaria or to Turkey should meet with world-wide condemnation. Islamism must not be crowned, and the bloody chariot wheels of the Sultan's authority must never again be permitted to be driven over the prostrate form of this redeemed land with its brave and heroic inhabitants.

Mr. President, I can not forbear making a brief allusion to the recent action of a number of the European powers who desire to deprive Greece of Northern Epirus, which by the law of self-determination as well as all just standards to be applied in marking the boundaries of nations, should constitute a part of the Kingdom of Greece. Northern Epirus, geographically and ethnically, belongs to Greece. With a population of 200,000, 120,000 are Christians and approximately 80,000 Moslems. The Christians demand union with Greece, while the Moslems—or the great majority of them—undoubtedly desire to be united with the Moslem State of Albania. In 1913 the Turks were driven from Northern Epirus by the Grecian armies; and the people, liberated from the oppressive rule to which they had so long been subjected, received with the greatest joy their deliverers.

Austria threatened war against Greece, and the government of that State, desiring to avoid further bloodshed, and yielding to the representations of Sir Edward Grey—speaking for Great Britain—evacuated this territory. The Greeks residing in Northern Epirus refused to submit to Albania or Moslem domination, and established a provisional government of their own; and in 1915 Northern Epirus was recognized as Greek territory by the powers, and delegates to the Greek Parliament were elected by its inhabitants. However, since that time the political life of Northern Epirus has been varied and turbulent, and the vicissitudes, political and otherwise, of its people have been painful and, indeed, tragic.

In December, 1919, not all of Northern Epirus, but a substantial portion of it, was awarded to Greece by some of the European powers in a joint note to Italy. As I recall, the United States was a party to this note. The district of Korytsa within Northern Epirus was not adjudicated, but was left for further negotiations between France, Great Britain, and Italy, as well as Greece, and, as I recall, the United States. In January, 1920, an allied note to Yugoslavia recognized Korytsa as Greek territory, and made an award accordingly. Notwithstanding this determination, which was subsequently ratified and approved by the nations referred to, the Albanian Government has, by force and violence, sought to retake possession of the same and subject it to Moslem rule.

Unfortunately, some of the allied nations are not giving sympathetic consideration to the claims of Greece to Northern Epirus, and, indeed, as I am advised, are conniving at a course which will permanently attach this district to Albania.

It is to be regretted that internal controversies are weakening the Greek State. Greece has Moslem foes and, perhaps, other enemies. This fact should promote and establish Greek solidarity and bring into happy accord all elements of this great race.

The Hellenic peoples have a great future before them. A puissant Greek State should be their aim. They have a glorious

past; they should seek a more glorious future. All nations pay tribute to what Greece has done for culture, for civilization, and for freedom.

Pericles, to commemorate his brilliant reign, invoked the genius of the immortal Phidias, who, upon the Acropolis, erected a statue of the Jove-born goddess Minerva. In her outstretched hand was placed a beacon light. In the darkness and in the storm that light guided the mariner upon the storm-tossed Ægean Sea and guided his bark to safety. Greece must again lift high the standard of liberty and civilization. Her light must point the way to the nations and peoples in that far-off land. The Greeks everywhere should be dedicated to the cause of freedom; and those within the Greek State, with patriotic devotion, should seek their country's welfare.

And Christian nations everywhere should rejoice in the progress which the Greek State has made since its emancipation from Turkish oppression and give moral and generous support to the aspirations of the Greek people. They should lift up their voices in execration of the hideous crimes of the Ottoman-Turks and aid in every movement that will preserve from destruction the small remnants of the Armenian Christians and the Pontian Greeks, as well as other Hellenic peoples scattered throughout Asia Minor.

We are soon to commemorate the birth of the Nazarene. The joy of this holiday season should not close our eyes nor seal our ears to the tragic scenes and the piteous cries beyond the seas. Millions are dying of want and hunger in Russia. Wandering and outcast and persecuted Christians are dying in the mountain fastnesses and in the waste places of Asia Minor. While we are bathed in the sunshine, others are lost in the shadows.